

Message Text

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SUBJ: FORMER PRIME MINISTER PIERRE WERNER'S VIEWS ON TIDEMANS
REPORT

SUMMARY: PIERRE WERNER, FORMER CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST PRIME
MINISTER AND AUTHOR OF THE 1970 WERNER REPORT ON EUROPEAN
UNITY, GAVE CHARGE HIS VIEWS ON THE TINDEMANS REPORT. HE
REGARDS IT AS A BALANCED, REALISTIC EFFORT TO MAINTAIN
MENTUM TOWARD EUROPEAN UNITY IN VERY ADVERSE CIRCUMSTANCES.
WERNER SUPPORTS TINDEMANS' CALL FOR A COMMON FOREIGN POLICY
BUT THINKS IT WILL ONLY BE HEDED SELECTIVELY FOR THE FORE-
SEEABLE FUTURE, MAINLY ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES IN
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MULTILATERAL FORMS: MAJORITY RULE ON OTHER SIGNIFICANT

FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES IS STILL A LONG WAY OFF. ON ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION, HE REGRETS THAT TINDEMANS HAS DROPPED A TIMETABLE FOR PROGRESS BUT BELIEVES HIS RECOMMENDATIONS ARE OTHERWISE SOUND. WERNER COULD SUPPORT TWO-TIER PROGRESS IN THESE AREAS PROVIDED ALL OF THE CONDITIONS TINDEMANS PROPOSES ARE MET. THE REPORT'S RECOMMENDATIONS ON SOCIAL AND REGIONAL POLICIES AND ON MAKING EUROPE MORE IMPORTANT TO THE AVERAGE CITIZEN CONTAIN MORE WISHFUL THINKING IN HIS VIEW THAN MEANINGFUL PROPOSALS FOR CONCRETE ACTIONS. HE SUPPORTS TINDEMANS' RECOMMENDATIONS ON INSTITUTIONS, ALTHOUGH HE SEES A POSSIBLE AREA OF CONFLICT BETWEEN AN ENHANCED ROLE FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION AND AN ENHANCED ROLE FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL. WERNER SAID HIS MAIN FEAR IS THAT THE REPORT WILL BE IMPLEMENTED PIECEMEAL AND THAT "IF THE EUROPE ON TINDEMANS' DRAWING BOARD LOOKS LIKE A THOROUGHbred RACE HORSE, IT WILL EMERGE IN REALITY AS A CAMEL." END SUMMARY

1. IN 1969 THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ASKED WERNER AND A GROUP OF EXPERTS TO PREPARE A PLAN FOR PROGRESS TOWARDS FULL MONETARY AND ECONOMIC UNION. WERNER'S PLAN, WHICH PROVIDED A WELL DEFINED TIMETABLE FOR COMMUNITY PROGRESS, WAS ADOPTED IN FEBRUARY 1971 BUT ULTIMATELY SUCCUMBED TO THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CRISIS. ASKED FOR HIS VIEWS ON TINDEMANS' EFFORTS IN LIGHT OF HIS OWN EXPERIENCE, WERNER SAID HE COULD ONLY ADMIRE TINDEMANS COURAGE IN ACCEPTING THE TASK. HE SAID IN 1969 AND 1970, EUROPEAN-MINDED LEADERS WERE STILL FLUSHED FROM EARLIER COMMUNITY SUCCESSES. A TIMETABLE FOR ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION SEEMED FEASIBLE. THEIR HOPES WERE DASHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CRISIS, AND THE DIFFICULTIES HAVE SINCE BEEN COMPOUNDED BY THE ENERGY CRISIS, THE WORLD-WIDE RECESSION, COMMUNITY EXPANSION FROM SIX TO NINE AND THE PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER ENLARGEMENT.

2. WERNER SAID IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE REPORT'S PRINCIPLE CONTRIBUTION IS THAT IT GIVES BODY TO THE INSUBSTANTIAL CONCEPT OF EUROPEAN UNION FORMULATED AT THE 1972 PARIS SUMMIT MEETING. IF TINDEMANS REPORT IS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ACCEPTED, EUROPEAN UNION WILL BE DEFINED AS A SET OF CONCRETE MEASURES IN VARIOUS COMMUNITY SECTORS. THE REPORT IS PRAGMATIC RATHER THAN ENTIRELY COHERENT OR CONSISTENT, AND MIRRORS CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE MEMBER STATES. ALTHOUGH WERNER RECOGNIZES THAT TIMETABLES HAVE NOT ALWAYS PROVED EFFECTIVE IN THE PAST, HE REGRETS THAT THE ONLY ONE INCLUDED IN TINDEMANS REPORT DEALS WITH PROCEDURES FOR SELECTING THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION.

HE BELIEVES TIMETABLES HAVE A SALUTORY PACE-FORCING EFFECT.

3. WERNER SEES TWO VALID REASONS FOR SUPPORTING TINDEMANS' CALL FOR COMMON FOREIGN POLICIES. FIRST, HE BELIEVES A MORE UNITED EUROPE CAN PLAY AN INFLUENTIAL ROLE IN THE WORLD AND, IN FACT, HAS ALREADY SCORED CERTAIN SUCCESSES; FOR EXAMPLE, THE LOME TREATY AND EUROPE'S IMPACT AT THE SEVENTH SPECIAL UN SESSION. THE SECOND AND PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT REASON IS THAT A EUROPEAN VOICE AND IMPACT INTERNATIONALLY COULD RALLY MUCH NEEDED PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE WHOLE EUROPEAN IDEA. WERNER BELIEVES WITH TINDEMANS THAT EUROPEANS ARE FRUSTRATED BY EUROPE'S WEAKNESS AND BADLY NEED AT LEAST THE HOPE OF GREATER INFLUENCE THROUGH UNITY.

4. WERNER DOUBTS THAT THE NINE ARE ANYWHERE NEAR READY FOR MAJORITY ROLE ON MOST FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS. HE BELIEVES, HOWEVER, THAT A GREAT MEASURE OF UNITY CAN BE ACHIEVED IN MULTILATERAL FORMS, PARTICULARLY ON DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES. HE IS NOT SURE WHAT TINDEMANS HAS IN MIND IN REGARD TO A DIALOGUE WITH THE UNITED STATES NOR DOES HE SEE THAT THE REPORT ADDS MUCH TO THE OLD EUROPEAN DEFENSE DILEMMA.

5. TINDEMANS CONSULTED WERNER ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY AND WERNER FOUND THESE CHAPTERS THE MOST SATISFACTORY. HE APPROVES OF USING THE COMMUNITY SNAKE AS A CORNERSTONE FOR FURTHER PROGRESS. WHILE HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN OPPOSED TO EUROPE "A LA CARTE," HE HAS COME AROUND TO THE CONVICTION THAT DIFFERENCES IN MEMBER STATES' ECONOMIES MAKE A TWO-TIER SYSTEM INEVITABLE. HE BELIEVES TINDEMANS REFERENCE TO ARTICLE 233 OF THE TREATY OF ROME, WHICH GIVES THE BENELUX COUNTRIES THE POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESSING TOWARD ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION AMONG THEMSELVES AT A FASTER RATE THAN THE EC AS A WHOLE OFFERS A CONVINCING PRECEDENT. HOWEVER, IN HIS VIEW THE TWO-TIER APPROACH WILL PROVE RUINOUS UNLESS IT IS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ACCEPTED WITH ALL THE CONDITIONS AND HEDGES TINDEMANS SPELLS OUT FOR BOTH ADVANCED AND LESS ADVANCED STATES. ABOVE ALL, THE LESS ADVANCED STATES MUST ACCEPT THE GOAL AND THE ADVANCED STATES MUST BE GENEROUS IN HELPING THEM ACHIEVE IT.

6. WERNER BELIEVES THAT TWO PILLARS SUPPORTING MONETARY UNION MUST BE A COMMON POLICY TOWARDS EXTERNAL MONETARY PROBLEMS AND A COMMON POLICY FOR DEFICIT CONTROL. THESE MUST BE FOLLOWED BY SOME EFFORT TOWARDS HARMONY AMONG THE NINE ON INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL POLICY. IN FACT, IN WERNER'S VIEW A COMMUNITY-WIDE INCOMES POLICY WILL EVENTUALLY BE REQUIRED. OBVIOUSLY A POLITICALLY EXPLOSIVE PRESCRIPTION, WERNER BELIEVES REAL ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION IS A LONG WAY OFF, BUT HE VIEWS TINDEMANS' PROPOSALS AS GOOD FIRST STEPS.

7. ON INSTITUTIONAL REFORM, THE REPORT IS ANODYNE BUT ACCEPTABLE IN WERNER'S VIEW. HE BELIEVES THE TWO MOST REALISTIC REFORMS ARE PERMITTING THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO DISCUSS BOTH TREATY AND NON-TREATY SUBJECTS WITHOUT THE ELABORATE FICTION OF CHANGING TITLES, AND EXTENSION OF THE TERM OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL. HE SUPPORTS BEEFING UP THE COMMISSION PRESIDENT AND PARLIAMENT BUT DOUBTS THAT THE POLITICAL DETERMINATION EXISTS PRESENTLY TO ADVANCE EUROPEAN UNITY VIA THE COMMISSION. PHILLIPS

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